AN

ADDRESS,

FROM A

NOBLE LORD,

TO THE

PEOPLE OF IRELAND,

ON THE

Present State of Affairs.

——Qui promittit, cives, urbem, sibi curæ
Imperium fore et Italiam, et delubra Deorum
Quo patre sit natus, num ignota matre inhonestus
Omnes mortales curare et quærere cogit.

HOR. Sat. VI. Lib. I.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

AN

ADDRESS

FROM A

NOBLE LORD, &c.

THO' placed above the reach of any inconvenience, which may attend the people at large, on the late parliamentary tranſactions, I am not above the feelings which the greateſt and nobleſt members of ſociety ſhould have for the publick good. I have heard, and read much of late, of diſtreſſes and diſtractions, ruin to trade, and ſuſpenſion of laws; and tho' long experience had taught me, that theſe were the common topicks of party clamour, I doubted whether they might not have an exiſtence in facts.

HAPPILY from ſituation I could take a larger ſurvey of ſuch matters, than thoſe who are mingled with the crowd of complainants. I have availed myſelf of this ſituation, I have looked around, I have enquired; I have converſed with government, and with the leaders of oppoſition; and flatter myſelf I am not unacquainted with their views, or their principles. I am afraid the people at large have miſtaken both. Be they right or be they wrong the diſcontent is the ſame. Nay, actual ruin does not diſtreſs the mind more than the apprehenſion of it. People run mad thro' fear; and often the preclusion from real diſtreſs gives leiſure to our thoughts, to create ideal misfortunes.

THIS is at preſent pretty much the ſtate of this kingdom. Its trade and manufactures are by no means declining, nay have been progreſſively increaſing for ſeveral years paſt; the face of the country is adorned beyond the moſt ſanguine idea of any man who had ſeen this kingdom thirty years ſince. The value of lands is not barely increaſed, not in many parts doubled but quadrupled: In ſhort, there is

every

every appearance of opulence which could poſſibly falſify the reports of ruin and decay in the kingdom of Ireland.

YET there are men, *intereſted men*, who cultivate thoſe gloomy apprehenſions of diſtreſs: Who wiſh to turn peoples eyes from viewing our growing happineſs to the eventual deſtruction of our conſtitution.

SINCE the people talk of every ſubject of national concern, it is important they ſhould weigh what they are buſy about. I am anxious about it, they are affrighted about the ſame matter, which neither of us know or feel; *that we are undone.*——
'No, we are not yet undone, but we 'fear we ſhall be undone, and the con 'ſtitution will be more than undone, it 'will be ruined.'

THIS is the fear.—Before they fear, they ſhould conſider what they fear: before they adopt an idea of deſtruction to the conſtitution, let people dwell upon the conſtitution itſelf a little, and review the characters of thoſe who have, or may be ſuppoſed intentionally to impair it.

THE houſe I have the honour to be in, removes me from any partial idea of what may affect the lower houſe of p--l--m--t; but a warm regard to the conſtitution at large involves me in all, and every queſtion, which that houſe adopts as material to the freedom of the Subject.

I LOVE the prince, I love the people, I love the conſtitution or I ſhould not trouble a ſingle reader to glance an eye, over the opinion of a peer in a queſtion which ſeems to relate merely to the people. What affects the people affects the peerage, and I hope they will never think our ideas unimportant, when they ſuſpect their own rights in danger.

IN every kingdom on earth the crown is the fountain of honour: Even in commonwealths, the temporary ſupreme of the ſociety is the donor of titles of reſpect and rank; bnt certainly of employments In our kingdoms there is a peculiar ſource of rank and employment, independant utterly of the crown.—'The re-'preſentation of the people in parliament.' The peculiar priviledges which are annexed to this repreſentation, have ſpurred

on

on the ingenious, the learned, the vain, the ambitious, the avaricious, to court the approbation and choice of their fellow ſubjects for this repreſentative dignity. People of all ranks, fortunes, and abilities, have acquired it; and without any degradation to human nature, they have applied its powers, to a ſuitabilty with their own purſuits and paſſions.—It could not be otherwiſe. Human nature cries againſt it. And whilſt human wiſdom and policy, juſtly plead for ſuch a government as we happily live under, they muſt lead us to a condonation of the inherent defects in ſuch a government; contrariety of opinions, unwarranted oppoſitions, conteſts on affairs material and immaterial, and above all the wiſh and endeavour to make the people who return the parties more important than the prince.

EVERY man, even the perſon of ſhalloweſt penetration muſt ſee the errors, the defects, which ſuch a conſtitution eternally labours under. The firſt fixed part of the conſtitution, 'the Crown,' ought not, ſeldom has any other object than the ſupport of itſelf, and its own officers. The next fixed part, 'The Peers,' in good ſenſe and policy can have no other

other object than the preſervation of the ſtate, where their property lies, and of the dignity of the prince, who is the executive preſerver of thoſe laws which ſecure their property. The third eſtate, 'The Commons,' has much more relative connections. It treads on the heels of peerage, it regards the crown, but ever looks back on the ſubject: It feels its own importance from its numbers; it feels it more from the numbers in whoſe place it ſtands; It feels its ſtrength from its poſitive and negative powers in the conſtitution. But whilſt it feels its own ſtrength, it forgets its own conſtitutional weakneſs; It forgets that its exiſtence often depends on the voice of a peaſant or breath of a prince (yet ſuch our conſtitution is) It forgets that the proper adherence to legal and regal authority, may and muſt preclude the individuals of that third eſtate from the preſent or future poſſeſſion of any ſelf-aſſumed ſeperate authority.

Under theſe circumſtances (as I have before called them) of relative connections, it is by no means wonderful, that little contrarieties of opinion ſhould ſtart between the fixed and temporary parts of the legiſlature. The latter are eternally wiſhing to make ground, the former are only

only watchful to keep the ground they have. A recent circumſtance has moſt ſufficiently exemplified this. The general principle of procedure will perhaps exiſt with the conſtitution, but the principles of the individuals who have opened a paſſage, which has already diſembogued a torrent of confuſion on this k—g-d—m; may not perhaps be traced in any paſt or future day.

WHETHER we conſider the prince or the people as conferring rank and honour on any man, we muſt glance an eye on the merit which induces it. We impartially praiſe or blame the abuſe of the power which dignifies an unworthy man. I am ſorry to ſay the bench I ſit upon, has not been kept as chaſte as every noble idea would dictate: but I am yet more ſorry that the abuſe of a popular recommendation has too frequently enforced a neceſſity of uncommon degradation to that bench, which a long inherited title gives me the right of ſitting upon.

I PUT upon an equal footing the right of peerage, and the right of pre-eminence, I put upon an equal footing the right of an individual who deſerves well of his

prince

prince or of the people: The firſt may create him a peer, the latter by circumſtances may enforce the creation; but I would call gentlemen in either caſe to the merits of the individual. I conceive no merits but theſe. Antiquity of family, amplitude of fortune, unqueſtioned abilities joined with real probity, or abſolute poſitive ſervices to government, blended with a proportionable ſhare of the other requiſites.

I CERTAINLY feel the propriety of the above ideas at the moment I review them; I as certainly feel the impropriety, where a perſon poſſeſſing not all, but ſcarce any of the requiſites, preſumes 'to claim' a pre-eminence over this kingdom. I would not wiſh to ſay with the crowd, that peerage in this nation is a peaceful claim to idle unimportant dignity; but I wiſh to ſay with the world of our dominions, that pre-eminence in this k—g—m has been the factious uſurpation of a few new individuals in this country, who had neither a reſident antiquity, an aſcertained property, a remarkable integrity, or a confeſſed poſitive ability to entitle them to what they either claim or poſſeſs.

You Gentlemen of the publick, wiſh to think, and often do think as nobly as we of the peerage. Extend your ideas on this ſubject to thoſe to whom we ought all to extend them. Take a view of our leaders in embryo, take them in exiſtence, take them in family, take them in fortune, take them in ability.—'Who are they who preſume to rule over Iſrael.' It is not the man who is talleſt of the tribes, it is not the elect of heaven; it is the intereſted man who would pull down the power of a viceroy; who aims at ſovereignty by inſulting his ſovereign's repreſentative, and would grow miraculouſly great without heavenly aid, or a ſingle ray of remarkable reaſon. He is the people's and their repreſentatives choice, the propriety of which I ſhall not impeach. But with all due reſpect to the repreſentatives and the repreſented, I have full right (and therefore will exerciſe that right) to examine on what preſumptive claim he aſſumes the lead of this kingdom. Is it on antiquity of family in this country? Pray who is Mr. P—n—y? I believe his anceſtor who with the reſt of the motley Cromwellian adventurers came to ſeek his fortune here, could not, on the moſt ambitious proſpects, hope Mr. P—n—y his deſcendant

deſcendant would claim an abſolute precedence of Engliſh government in Ireland. Nor can the noble deſcendant of the humble reſpectable alien, whoſe 'ſole inheritance was God's providence,' (a) when he arrived in this kingdom in Queen Elizabeth's day's, trace a ſufficient title to the importance he has aſſumed in the preſent day.

For a man to attempt a ſuperiority, a lead in any country is not ſurpriſing; to attempt it without a claim of real confeſſed title is ſomewhat ſurpriſing; but to attempt, nay more, temporarily to effect it, without any juſt claim or apparent merit, is a moſt unaccountable event. Yet ſuch we have ſeen in our own day. Let the publick coolly and candidly ſurvey the pretenſions of thoſe people whoſe oppoſition to gov—nm—t have brought on the preſent feuds and inconveniencies.

The principal perſon concerned in this ſtruggle for power, is the brother and ſon of a peer, of a moderate fortune; whoſe father was the firſt nobleman of the family, and whoſe grandfather was the firſt perſon of his family who had any property in this k—gd—m.

(a) Lodge's Peerage, Vol I. p. 87.

k—gd—m. This gentleman, as I before mentioned, was a perſon of humble origin, came here as an adventurer in Cromwell's army, and fortuitouſly laid the foundation of that fortune which ſupports a title.

I do not mention theſe circumſtances as a demerit to the family, but barely to prove they cannot boaſt either long reſidence, long ſeries of nobility, or long continuance of fortune in their family: Yet they have been graced with the moſt ſplendid appointments in this kingdom. Nor do I mean to diſparage the other noble family, which is a younger branch of a noble ſtock which has produced many ſhining ornaments to ſociety: but as an old title has been very lately revived in them, and the cauſes of that revival are recent, it is a very proper diſcuſſion at this day, why they were dignified, and by whom.

The late Lord S—— was (as I have ſaid) a deſcendant from Queen Elizabeth's clerk of the council, by a younger branch of the family, with a very ſmall patrimony: By inter-marriage with a ſiſter of the late Earl of B—l—g—n, he obtained an intereſt in ſeveral boroughs; this gave him weight and influence in the lower houſe,

houſe, which he extended by his own addreſs. When poſſeſſed of the chair in that houſe, his power grew yet ſtronger; his Majeſty gave him places and preferments, as a reward for his honeſt ſupport of government: at length he began to controul what he was paid for ſupporting. It was thought neceſſary to attempt a balance againſt this overgrown power. It was done accordingly, and Mr P-n-y was brought forward, leſs for his abilities, than thro' the intrigues of his father; not for his fortune, that was very moderate, and his employments under the crown were his moſt honourable ſupport. This rival intereſt ſet the nation into a flame of confuſion, which coſt near half a million. The patriotic ſpeaker obtained a peerage and penſion. The new ſpeaker was entruſted with ample dominion over that board, which government accounts of the moſt extenſive influence in this kingdom.

At length this war of family ceaſed, by an union between the ſon of the dignified patriot, and the daughter of the late enriched ſpeaker. They felt the ſtrength of this league, and immediately commenced *Patriots*. Poſſeſſed of the powers which government had given them for the honeſt

neſt purpoſe of preventing cabal; they at once forgot who gave the powers, when they found themſelves enabled by thoſe very powers to form and ſupport cabal. Conſcious that antiquity, fortune, nobility, or ability did not entitle them to that ſuperiority, which with an high hand they exerciſed in their country, they cultivated an idea of their own importance, by a miſrepreſentation of the people who were to be governed. They ſaid, they wrote to the other ſide, that nothing but *management* here could reconcile the loyal people of this kingdom to the fair and cuſtomary requiſitions of the king, and that they alone were capable of being managers.

THEY had firſt deluded the people with horrible ideas of tremendous intentions by Engliſh adminiſtration, which they alone could ward off; and then they alarmed government with the difficulties, which muſt neceſſarily ariſe from the diſtruſt which they themſelves had raiſed; and by this double operation, on the prince and the people, concluded they had founded their power upon an unalterable baſis.

GOVERNORS were not always to be deluded; they found out the myſtery, but could

could not immediately rid themſelves of the impoſition. The miſrepreſentation had taken deep root among the people; the body of miſrepreſenters grew ſtrong, and enlarged itſelf from this root; it ſpread its boughs, and overſhadowed the land; until no man could pluck fruit but from their outſtretched branches. In fact, they had ſo long and ſo deeply rooted themſelves, that neither their equals at home, (not to ſpeak of their ſuperiors) nor their governors from abroad, could preſume a controul, without conditions, 'They and their minions muſt be ſerved', and then the pillaged nation might be opened a prey to any wiſhed participation of pillage. This melancholy ſituation both of the people, and the government here was repeatedly laid before the Engliſh miniſtry. During different adminiſtrations, the reports of Iriſh affairs were the ſame, and under thoſe different adminiſtrations, the idea reſulting from ſuch reports was the ſame. Every miniſtry concurred in the neceſſity of changing the channel of buſineſs from theſe undertakers and managers, and opening the more liberal intercourſe with a chief governor. Every gentleman who went from hence, complained

complained of this circumſcription from new monopolizers of royal favour, who had forgotten how and why they were placed in the ſeat of power. I err a little, they knew how they were placed there, by intrigue, but they could not forget the intrigue, even when poſſeſſed of what they had been in purſuit of. Maſters of their wiſh, they forgot the buſineſs of their benefactors. I am aſhamed to trace the well known affairs of the paſt 17 years, where the patriotick conſiſtence of the right honourable gentleman and his *Suite* wear ſuch a camelion-like complection. When adherent to government they wore its livery, when ſtuck to oppoſition, they contracted the gloomy hue of their diſcontented partizans. In 1761 they told one tale, in 1769 they told another. In 1761, white was white, law was law, and the conſtitution was the conſtitution; but in 1769, white was black, law was illegality, and the conſtitution was unconſtitutional. In 1753, the preſent *united* families widely differed about the propriety of ſupporting government. Fortunately that difference is ended by the happy co-operation of both, in the oppoſition to almoſt every uſual meaſure of government; theſe great men have played *Solos*, they have excel-

led in *Duets*, but now find themſelves ableſt in *Trios*. They have fiddled, the people have danced after them, and the nation has always paid for their diſcordant muſick.

WHO that remembers 1753 does not laugh to ſee the noble houſe of L——r in joint adverſity to government, with the patriotick followers of Mr. P—n—y; ſupported by his old cordial friends of Mr. B——e's family.

THE purpoſes of theſe leaders are manifeſt, by their many tranſitions from government to oppoſition, and from oppoſition to government.——In 1754 the noble Earl and Mr. B——e were ſteady patriots, and Mr. P—n—y was a zealous courtier, for he was in place and the others were out.——In 1756, the noble Earl was a moſt reſpectable courtier, for he was in government: Mr. P—n— continued gloriouſly ſteady, for he himſelf was in place, and his father in government; and Mr. B——e was cured of his patriotick phrenzy by a peerage and penſion. In 1758 the new created Earl joined in government with his old cordial friends, Primate S—e and the ſpeaker;

the Earl of K——e was ſeized with a patriotick dudgeon, but the ordinance diſcharged his chagrine.——In 1761, the queſtion, which has raiſed all the preſent clamour, was uniformly ſupported by the three reſpectable leaders of the preſent oppoſition:

——— the times are chang'd,
And they're chang'd with the times.

Yet it is all patriotiſm; When they join government it is to ſerve the country; when they oppoſe, it is for the ſame laudable purpoſe; when they accept peerages, places, or penſions, it is for the emolument of the nation; when they part them in hopes of obtaining better conditions, it is to guard the liberties of the people, againſt the power from which they expect thoſe advantageous conditions ——If a penſion is obtained, it is to relieve the eſtabliſhment; and if it is ſold, it does not hurt the publick. Whether a renewal of penſions, a peerage, or a *frugal* increaſe of places, would have inſured a quiet ſeſſion, I cannot preſume to ſay; but if the leaders, had carried their favourite point, in preventing a reſident Lord Lieutenant, every man ſees that a

a ſchiſm muſt have followed their victory. An *Octavius* an *Antonius* and a *Lepidus* could deſtroy a *Brutus*, but their agreement was built upon enmity, and they ſoon ſought the deſtruction of each other. I beg pardon of the publick for hinting that the modern triumvirate have abilities equal to the ancient. They were never ſuſpected for abilities. The greateſt praiſe of one of the patriots, was that he meant well, he was called *Meanwell* in his exalted day of patriotiſm. The other two have not the honour, of even that inſipid title; they mean well to themſelves no doubt, and happily have found ſupport from the mental powers of other perſons in oppoſition, who have given the ſtrongeſt aid to the late leaders incapacity.

I CONFESS myſelf not a little aſhamed and offended, when I ſee the acknowledged abilities of Mr. P——r——y ſelf degraded, by ſupporting a power aſſumed under as little family pretenſions, and infinitely inferior perſonal merits, than he himſelf poſſeſſed, and by which he might attempt to lead this or any country. When I ſee a learned gentleman, whoſe name and family is nearly as ancient as the country, where he poſſeſſes an ample

patrimonial

patrimonial property; miſtakingly, fortuitouſly in the ſuite of a perſon, whoſe predeceſſors perhaps were *peaſants* when his anceſtors were *princes*; I mean Sir L— O——; whoſe miſtaken mode has not effected the good he might have intended his country, by ſupporting the man whoſe family was ſupported at the expence of patriotiſm, and who had gained in this country what he had never deſerved from it; and was enriched by his prince unfeeling of the favour, and who was laſtingly perverting every princely power and poſſeſſion from the purpoſes of the beſtower.

Ingratitude! thy evil blood,
Defiles the hand which does thee good.
ANN.

But however ſhameful or offenſive ſuch matters may be, they are loſt in the ridiculouſneſs of the late appearances. The revenue feed againſt the Prince in whoſe name it was collected. The ordinance planted againſt the power it ſhould ſupport. An ancient Mileſian, ſupporting a modern Cromwellian againſt prerogative and kingly power; and that Cromwellian, boaſting of loyalty when he

was inducing and encouraging licentiouſneſs. Abilities under the guidance of diſability, Oratory aiding the S—— who cannot ſpeak. Integrity pleading for the man who never kept his word. Rivalſhip ſupporting what it means to deſtroy. A young *ſprightly* lord in tow of an old dull German Doctor, the Doctor in tow of the mob, and the mob regulators of government.

THIS is certainly not the moſt honourable repreſentation of publick affairs, but it is moſt ſadly true. The graſping ambition of uſurping leaders has broken the chain thro' every link of gradation between the prince and the people—I wiſh it was otherwiſe, becauſe it would be right; but a clamour is attempted againſt a vi-r-y and his ſ--r—t—y, both attentive to the good of this nation; (perhaps more ſo than any perſons who have ever appeared in ſuch characters in this kingdom) and who have not innovated in any one circumſtance that I have learn'd. A prorogation is indeed charged to their account, and treated as the higheſt injury this country could receive. It is worth peoples attention to weigh whether this injury is ſo extenſive, and ſo fatal, as the promoters

promoters of diſturbance would have us believe. The injury muſt be either to the nation at large, or to ſome individuals. A local loſs can never be introduced into ſuch a queſtion as this, a national loſs ought, but there could be no national loſs.—A temporary removal of ſome families from the city to their country ſeats, might for a time damp the trade of the city; but the country at large gained what the city loſt, the expenditure of fortune became more diffuſive, and that expenditure was loſs in luxury, and more in home produce.

The very head and front of the offending
Hath this extent, no more.

Yet this is called national ruin. An attempt was made, and I hear, ſucceſsfully, by our Viceroy to alleviate even this local inconvenience, and the city feels, and acknowledges its good effects, in the late operative encouragement of I—ſh manufactures. Suppoſe for a moment that all the evils which the publick have been told of had attended the prorogation, Whoſe conduct forced the prorogation? clearly, that of the leaders, in oppoſition on the 21ſt of N-v-b-r.—If the country ſuffered, the Patriots (as they miſcall themſelves)

ſelves) cauſed thoſe ſufferings. I was going to ſay, *their wanton*, but more properly, their intereſted oppoſition, occaſioned the whole of this buſineſs—If they propoſed real good to their country, we muſt congratulate their amendment in 1769, from the errot and deluſion they were under in 1761. They had become virtuous and found themſelves unſucceſsful—But whilſt we repine at their miſcarriage, we muſt blame their want of foreſight. I am ſure they blame it themſelves; and the publick need not cenſure, what the managers have long ſince repented of. 'They greatly dar'd, and fail'd in great 'attempts.' If there was common prudence in their conduct, they would never have ventured on a meaſure which was not abſolutely practicable, If they clamour about a p--r-g-ti-n, they condemn themſelves of inattention to what it extremely concerned them to know, 'the 'conſequence of a ſimilar reſolution in the 'year 1692.' Had they not reaſon to expect a like conſequence in the preſent day? Perhaps they did not know that tranſaction—reading was not their province or practice. This is but a poor apology to the people, if they have *ruined* them, tho' to themſelves they may ſooth their

their own miſcarriages, by ſome humiliating reflections on their own diſabilities and overſights.

THANK Providence, the managers miſtakes have not ruined the nation, tho' they affect to tell us we are ruined. They eat, and drink, and ſport, and revel, as if no ſuch matter had happened, and they are right, for they know the nation is not ruined. The people at large do the ſame, for they *feel* they are not ruined. And the conſtitution, ſtands juſt as well ſince, as before the p—r-g-ti-n.

A QUESTION may ariſe, whether theſe managers intended misfortune, or ruin, or even inconvenience to I——d? I ſincerely believe they did not. I know them too well to ſuſpect it. But I know them ſo well as to believe firmly they overlooked what might induce one or all of theſe conſequences, when their own power was endangered. And as to the nation, if it ſuffers, there is no diſference, whether the ſuffering ariſes from the intention or inattention of thoſe who induce it. I am not ſo brainſickly as to think, becauſe a man errs he muſt ever be wrong; or becauſe under the influence of

of ſome leading paſſion he commits a vice; he has no virtue; nay more, that becauſe a man has private virtues, he can have no public vice. The contrary has been experienced in all ages and countries. The preſent time and occaſion exemplifies it. No man preſumes to cenſure or doubt the private virtues of Mr. P——n——y, as a father, huſband, or companion. Amiable in ſocial life, tender as a father, affectionate as an huſband, an indulgent landlord, a punctual paymaſter; but in ſpeaking of his heart, we muſt not recognize more of his head than that it is well ſet upon his ſhoulders. And yet even that heart, nurtures one paſſion which is moſt materially the object of national concern. AMBITION, the *luſt of power*, which tramples upon all virtues without itſelf; which would pull down all ſuperiority, ſap all equality, and depreſs every growing rivalſhip. The noble Lord his ſon-in-law, has many private virtues (tho' not ſo obvious or ſhining as his father-in-law's) perhaps ſuperior abilities, as they have not been ſo long tried, but certainly equal ambition. The noble D——, who has thrown his powerful influence into the ſcale of their ambition, and whoſe antiquity

of

antiquity of family, amplitude of fortune, and continued reſidence in his native country, have an apparently better claim to ſuperiority than either of the former, is more than tinged with that overbearing paſſion: It pervades the whole of his character. His virtues ſhine within the walls of his palace. His œconomy great, his dignity greater. As a domeſtick man, wonderful; as a ſocial, unknown; more verſed in family, than national accounts; popular, from a ſemblance of profuſion; beloved by his tenants, and idoliſed by the people who receive his mandates, but never ſee his perſon. The publick admire the *aſtutia* of his politicks, who, in 1753, preſented the memorial to majeſty; in 1761, introduced the money bill into the council, according to Poynings law; and, in 1769, moſt ſpiritedly oppoſed a ſimilar bill, by the joint voices of his numerous patriotick friends. He has no ambition. He lives in I—l—d; is this ambition? He courts the citizens; is this ambition? He viſits no man; is this ambition? *Ambition ſhould be made of ſterner ſtuff.* He has ſhaken hands with his former rival; is this ambition? It is all patriotiſm; every atom of his conduct is patriotick, as the views of his colleagues in the late oppoſition.

An attentive review of theſe great characters, will convince the publick how diſintereſted they muſt have been, in oppoſing the idea, the poſſibility of having a reſident L—d L--t--n--nt. Every man ſees whether they were to ſuſtain any loſs, by the adoption or execution of this idea. Under ſuch a circumſtance, the wings of their ſoaring ambition would be clipt. They felt it; they oppoſed it; but they have not conquered the idea. They called the nation to their aid; they awoke ſlumbering patriotiſm; they enliſted all the diſcontented under the banner of independance; they canvaſſed all thoſe errors of paſt adminiſtrations, which either they themſelves had introduced, or ſanctified by ſupport and approbation. One fought againſt a penſion liſt, which had exonerated his fortune; another denied the bill, which he himſelf had certified; and a third oppoſed a military augmentation, as burthenſome to a nation, which he for years had depreſſed with the weight of his ordinance. This conduct was perfectly conſiſtent with their paſt ideas, and the preſent good of the nation. Their faithful friends, not ſatisfied with popular, national topicks, entered into the private characters

characters of thoſe who were appointed to govern. The preſs groaned under the dull weight of envy and malignity. The publick heard of nothing but the private virtues of the leaders in oppoſition, and the notorious vices of thoſe they oppoſed. Paternal, conjugal, ſocial virtues, were arguments of patriotick views in Mr. P—y. The ſame indiſputable, confeſſed virtues in the L--d L--t--n--nt, were arguments of tyrannick intentions. The reſidence of the noble D— was forcible againſt a reſident governor. The oppoſers being natives, was a ſtrong argument againſt an I—ſh ſecretary. Their own unfelt inabilities were brought into competition with the experienced and approved abilities of government. Did any man tax the inabilities of the leaders:—theſe inabilities were immediately melted into their morals, and ſecured under their private virtues. Did any man attempt to diſplay and prove the like exiſting morals and private virtues in government:—they were neglected, or abſorbed in the charge of wicked views againſt the nation.

WHAT could or can be the views of the preſent government? What ſelf intereſt have they to ſuffer? Yet a clamour is attempted

attempted againſt the Viceroy and his ſecretary; both are to be baited down. I am acquainted, but not connected, with either of theſe popular victims; I have ſeen and converſed with both; and, from diſintereſted converſation, and free inquiry, have formed ſomewhat different ideas of each, from what I have heard publickly propagated. I ſpeak of what I have ſeen, a little of what I well know, and in general what I have impartially heard of their characters: Indifferent to both I utter my candid opinion, follow it who may.

LORD T——D is an Engliſhman, with the frankneſs of his country; open, undiſguiſed, without an intention to injure any man, and with ſuch a ſenſibility of injury, as ſeldom conceals it's firſt feelings, and ſpiritedly precludes all future occaſions of ſuch feelings. Ambitious of a good name, and active to deſerve it. Apparently abſent, from too much thinking; and ever thinking for the good of thoſe he governs. Too honeſt, for a compleat politician; and too experienced, to believe every man who profeſſes honeſty. Never too reſerved; ſometimes too unbended. The delight of the candid, the fit ſubject for him who abuſes candour. He has not the craft

craft of an H—x, or his courtly fallehood. He has the ſpirit of a N—d, without his oſtentation; and has all his probity. The narrow ſelfiſhneſs of another Viceroy was never found, or charged in him. As a politician, he may be eaſily ſuperior to his opponents here; tho' newly called to the exerciſe of ſuch abilities. In natural endowments ſuperior to his three opponents; and in learning knowing more than ever they were taught. Had he indeed the Eaſtern ſtate, which is affected by one of his noble adverſaries, he might conceal the qualities which redound to his praiſe, and the little human foibles which are ever the ſhade of a great character. I know him not, as a ſoldier; but, from the various climates in which a man of his rank and property has fought the ſervice, he ſeems at leaſt to have endeavoured to deſerve the approbation of his countrymen. I really think, upon the whole, that his dignity of mind is not leſſened, tho' calumniated, for familiarity and humility: That his policy is often counteracted by his candour: That his private virtues outſhine the ſphere of his publick capacity, in a time when intereſted oppoſition to the beſt intentions will not ſuffer the real publick and private virtues of the Viceroy to diffuſe themſelves into the natural channels, which would convey national good, and purchaſe national praiſe.

His

His ſ—r—t—y is an I—ſhm-n, and we proverbially love our countrymen. He was educated in I—l—nd, which is more ſtrong againſt him. He ſtudied in E—g-l—d, after an I—ſh education; this was not national. He travelled thro' Europe, which certainly confined his knowledge, and roughened his manners. He was employed in an important embaſſy which diſqualified him for buſineſs. He has returned to his native country, where he has a large and ancient patrimonial property; therefore ought to be unacceptable to his countrymen. He brought back with him a remembrance of all he had ever read or ſeen; which muſt diſguſt thoſe who never read, and thoſe who had forgotten whatever they had read. He carried with him abroad a genius improved by learning; and the criticks of this country conclude he loſt it, beeauſe his memory of what he carried out, proves he has increaſed his original ſtock. Under ſuch a V—r-y, and ſuch a ſ—r—t—y it is, that the managers declare the nation is ruined. Narrowed by their private views, they proclaim the national good and their own power to be one and the ſame. That power which the crown too long entruſted to undertakers here

here, they claim as an indefeaſible prerogative, 'and look with ſcornful, yet 'with jealous eyes, on the ſame *power* 'which caus'd themſelves to riſe.'

THE crown continued their power whilſt they deſerved to hold it. The crown has withdrawn the power when they ceaſed to deſerve it. They aſſert they will enforce its continuance by oppoſition to the Crown; that is to the power which firſt graciouſly called them out, from an equality, to a ſuperiority among their former fellows. The Prince like providence will be more juſt, than to continue an ill-managed truſt to ſuch ſtewards, they had few talents, and the few they had were uſeleſs to their maſter, therefore they no longer retain them. Even that which they had is now taken from them. Is the nation at large injured? No, it is equal whether A, or B, ſpends the profit of a place, if it is expended in the country. And whether Squire John, or Lord Richard, or any other Lord or any other Squire, receives and expends the emoluments of a place, is quite unimportant to a nation, if the accruments continue in the nation. Indeed there is a difference if the power of that place

is entruſted to perſons of inferior abilities. The queſtion then ariſes about the performance of duty, not about expending the profits of office. With all due reſpect, few ſucceſſors could be appointed which would fall ſhort of the abilities ſo long tried and diſapproved in the mangers.

WHAT is the real queſtion at this day? Do we not all know that it is whether we ſhall have a reſident Lord Lieutenant or Lords Juſtices as uſual?——This is not a new idea of the preſent miniſtry, it was the determined idea of the paſt. It was not the ſuggeſtion of the abuſed Duke of G——n, but the favourite ſentiment of the celebrated Lord C——m, properly adopted from the conviction and experience of years, wherein the managers had abuſed the power entruſted to them. The nation was in love with the idea, when notified by Lord Briſtol as the opinion of the patriotick Lord Chatham, but it muſt be a condemned principle when exerciſed by other hands. 'Who in fact 'are intereſted in this queſtion?'—Thoſe who once enjoyed and muſt now relinquiſh the emoluments and power of Lords Juſtices.—No man on earth can have ſo much intereſt in this queſtion as the managers.

The

The little ſaving of a viceroy from the ſuppreſſion of the Juſtices ſalaries, when that viceroy is neither indigent nor avaricious, cannot be brought into compariſon as an operative motive, with the diſappointed intereſted ambition of thoſe who feel themſelves in the wain of power. And how is the publick intereſted in this conteſt, farther than as the private intereſt of the individuals, attached to the managers by miſinformation, attempts to miſguide them. The kingdom would not have ſuffered a real injury if theſe diſguſted families had never exiſted, and cannot poſſibly ſuffer an injury by their exiſting without power, after the long miſuſe of their ſelf-advantageous power. Time was, when there was no approach to government but thro' the confined avenues of two or three houſes; time is, when the approach is enlarged, when government is opened to the view and acceſs of the country, when every man can ſpeak to the Lord, without the intervention of the ſteward.

Do the managers ſeriouſly think if their cabal removed the preſent governor, that they would root out the idea or prevent the exiſtence of a reſident viceroy?

They do not, and yet ſpeciouſly attempt to delude the publick into oppoſition to the man, whilſt they know they cannot deſtroy the meaſure. I hope we are too wiſe to be deluded. Experience has convinced us the managers have not more virtue than other men. Obſervation proves they have not more abilities, and it would not be raſh to aſſert that the weight of abilities have been with government in the late conteſts. If the governor had attempted to bear down this country in great and eſſential points, by the poor exerciſe of poor parts, and the induſtrious labours of indigent ſimple men, I would myſelf, as an individual Lord, contemn as well as oppoſe him. But when I ſee property as great as oppoſition can boaſt, and abilities tranſcendantly ſuperior to all the managers could or can array, againſt thoſe ambitious men, I cannot force myſelf to believe the nation is ruined, becauſe the intereſted managers are diſappointed. When I ſee a viceroy whoſe defect is his candour and his vice affability and condeſcenſion; and a ſecretary whoſe demerit is his genius and memory, and his diſgrace that he is an Iriſhman of property, who has been honoured abroad and thence, is devoted to perſecution at home,

I think

I think myſelf, and every candid individual, called upon to expreſs the fulleſt indignation againſt the practiſers and promotors of ſuch miſrepreſentation.

THE fact is, a change was apprehended, and is now verified by ſhifting power from the managers. The country at large ſuffers nothing by the change, unleſs employments go from more worthy and able hands to the worthleſs and inſufficient. Nay a change ſhews ſomewhat of a providential diſtributive juſtice; and the impartial people will never conceive, that national deſtruction muſt follow the removal of thoſe, who ever were for themſelves, who were on every ſide of every queſtion at different periods of time, and who were in the laſt ſeſſion againſt government, becauſe they had not the guidance of government, and would in the next ſeſſion become the enthuſiaſtical leaders of any government meaſures, if reinſtated and ſecured in the power they once poſſeſſed, hoped to continue and laboured to enlarge.

THIS Addreſs is more than opinion. I flatter myſelf it ſtates facts, and will be accordingly received by the candid and judicious;

judicious; and the object propoſed by it, is the greateſt of all national objects; THE PEACE OF THE PEOPLE. There is no cauſe for clamour, little for complaint; and where the very cauſe of complaint is, we wilfully overlook. But the approaching ſeſſion will diſtinguiſh the patriotick views of thoſe who induced prorogation, and called it national ruin, from the intention of thoſe who, regardleſs of faction, ſeek the real benefit of Ireland.

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